

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

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INFO AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY GABORONE PRIORITY  
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AMEMBASSY PRETORIA PRIORITY  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L LUSAKA 0123

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PDEV, RH, ZA  
SUBJ: RHODESIA: DISSENTION WITHIN ZAPU

REF: 77 LUSAKA 3873; 77 LUSAKA 3888

1. SUMMARY: STORIES ARE CURRENT IN LUSAKA INDICATING SERIOUS PROBLEMS WITHIN ZAPU. ALBERT MVULA, A RHODESIAN AND A SENIOR REPORTER FOR ZAMBIA DAILY MAIL AND STRONG SUPPORTER OF MUGABE HAS OFFERED EMBASSY HIS VIEWS OF WHAT IS OCCURRING. HE PORTRAYS ZAPU AS STRONGLY DIVIDED OVER THE QUESTION OF PATRIOTIC FRONT UNITY. DIVISION HAS TAKEN ON ETHNIC OVERTONES WITH SHONA/MATABELE INSIDE ZAPU FAVORING UNITY AND KALANGAS OPPOSING. DIVISIONS BETWEEN THESE TWO GROUPS HAS LED TO SERIOUS FIGHTING IN TWO ZAPU CAMPS, AND NO END TO DIVISIONS IS IN SIGHT. MVULA STATES ZAPU MILITARY COMMANDER, MANGENA (A SHONA) HAS BEEN

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RELIEVED AND THAT KAUNDA HAS ORDERED ZAPU FORCES WITHDRAWN FROM BORDER AREAS. MVULA'S VIEWS ARE SUSPECT GIVEN HIS MUGABE ORIENTATION, BUT DIVISIONS APPARENTLY EXIST WITHIN ZAPU, AND THIS COULD STRENGTHEN SMITH'S HAND. END SUMMARY.

2. TWO ATTACKS ON ZIMBABWE HOUSE IN LUSAKA IN LATE DECEMBER (REFTELS) GENERATED SPECULATION THAT THERE WAS TROUBLE BETWEEN

THE MATABELE AND KALANGA WITHIN ZAPU. THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE ATTACKS WAS NEVER ALL THAT CLEAR. SUBSEQUENTLY, WE HAVE LEARNED THAT THERE WERE CASUALTIES IN THE ATTACKS -- FROM FIVE TO SEVEN KILLED. ON THE NIGHT OF JANUARY 12 THERE WAS EXTENSIVE FIRING AT A ZAPU CAMP TWENTY MILES NORTH OF LUSAKA ON THE WAY TO KABWE. SPECULATION ON WHAT HAPPENED RANGED FROM A SHOOT OUT TO A BLAST OF FIRING SET OFF BY A TRIGGER-HAPPY GUARD. ON JANUARY 14 A RESIDENT AMERICAN REPORTER TOLD US THAT THERE HAD BEEN FIGHTING IN TWO ZAPU CAMPS JANUARY 12.

3. ZAMBIA DAILY MAIL REPORTER ALBERT MVULA TOLD THE EMBASSY JANUARY 16 THAT THERE HAD BEEN FIGHTING BETWEEN ELEMENTS OF ZAPU AT TWO CAMPS ON JANUARY 12. HE SAID THAT AT LEAST THREE HUNDRED MEN WERE INVOLVED AND THAT SOME TWO HUNDRED HAD FLED THE CAMPS. ACCORDING TO MVULA, THE ATTACKS ON ZIMBABWE HOUSE AND THE FIGHTING WITHIN THE TWO CAMPS REFLECTED DEEP DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THOSE IN ZAPU WHO WANTED UNITY WITH ZANU AND THOSE OPPOSED. DIFFERENCES OVER THE UNITY QUESTION WAS TAKING ON ETHNIC OVER-TONES. THE NDEBELE-SPEAKING KALANGAS, REPRESENTED BY NKOMO, ARE OPPOSED TO UNITY AND THE MATABELE AND SHONA ARE PRO. MVULA ARGUED THAT THE KALANGA HAVE KNOWN FOR YEARS THAT, GIVEN THE SMALL SIZE OF THEIR ETHNIC GROUP, THEIR ONLY PROTECTION IN AN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE COULD COME FROM THEIR MAN (NKOMO) OCCUPYING THE PRESIDENCY. HE SAID THAT THE KALANGA AROUND NKOMO OPPOSED UNITY WITH ZANU. THEY REALIZED THAT THEIR ALREADY WEAK POSITION NUMERICALLY WOULD BE FURTHER WEAKENED BY BEING SUBMERGED IN A

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SEA OF SHONA SPEAKERS IF UNITY WITH THE PREDOMINANTLY SHONA ZANU TOOK PLACE. A FURTHER ELEMENT DIVIDING THE KALANGA AND THE MATABELE/SHONA WAS THE QUESTION OF INTENSIFYING THE WAR EFFORT. THE KALANGA ARE NOT ANXIOUS TO DO SO AND THE SHONA/MATABELE ARE. (OUR AMERICAN REPORTER CONTACT SAID HIS SOURCES ASCRIBED THE SPLIT IN ZAPU TO FEUDING BETWEEN THOSE OPPOSED AND THOSE FOR INTENSIFYING THE ARMED STRUGGLE.)

4. MVULA SAID MANGENA (A SHONA) HAS BEEN DISMISSED AS MILITARY COMMANDER OF ZAPU. HE MAINTAINED THAT THE MAN INTRODUCED TO THE PRESS BY NKOMO ON HIS RETURN TO LUSAKA JANUARY 10 WAS NOT MANGENA. NKOMO TRIED TO SET RUMORS OF TROUBLE BETWEEN HIM AND HIS MILITARY COMMANDER TO REST BY PRESENTING A FALSE MANGENA TO THE PRESS. IN FACT, MVULA SAID, MANGENA HAS BEEN REPLACED.

5. A FURTHER POINT OF IRRITATION BETWEEN THE SHONA/MATABELE AND THE KALANGA ACCORDING TO MVULA HAS BEEN AN ORDER BY PRESIDENT KAUNDA THAT ZAPU UNITS ARE TO BE MOVED FROM THE BORDER AND NKOMO'S ACQUIESCENCE IN THIS DECISION. QUERIED AS TO WHETHER THIS INFORMATION WAS CORRECT (WE HAD SEEN NO CONFIRMING EVIDENCE), MVULA SAID HE WAS CERTAIN THAT KAUNDA HAD GIVEN SUCH AN ORDER.

6. SPEAKING ABOUT RELATIONS BETWEEN ZANU AND ZAPU IN GENERAL, MVULA SAID THAT IT WAS IRONIC THAT ZAPU SHOULD BE UNDERGOING AN INTERNAL CRISIS AT THIS TIME. HE SAID NO LATER THAN FOUR WEEKS AGO SOME OF MUGABE'S TOP LIEUTENANTS WERE PREPARED TO QUIT ZANU AND JOIN ZAPU. THEY HAVE NOW CHANGED THEIR MINDS.

7. COMMENT: MVULA HAS PROVIDED FAIRLY RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST. HOWEVER, HIS VERSION OF WHAT IS HAPPENING WITHIN ZANU MUST BE READ IN LIGHT OF HIS AVOWED LOYALTY TO MUGABE, AND MUGABE HAS A VESTED INTEREST IN PORTRAYING ZANU AS THE STRONGEST ELEMENT OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. WE DOUBT HIS ASSESSMENT THAT THE KALANGA POLITICAL LEADERSHIP ARE AGAINST UNITY; OUR READING IS TO THE CONTRARY. SIMILARLY WE HAVE RESERVATIONS ABOUT ZAPU DIVIDING

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ALONG KALANGA AGAINST SHONA/MATABELE LINES. IN ANY SPLIT WE WOULD HAVE PLACED THE NDEBELE-SPEAKING KALANGAS WITH THE MATABELE. FURTHER, WHAT WE CONSIDER RELIABLE SOURCES DENY THAT MANGENA HAS BEEN DISMISSED AND THAT KAUNDA HAS ORDERED ZAPU AWAY FROM THE BORDER. MVULA COULD BE ENGAGING IN PROVIDING MISINFORMATION IN A CAMPAIGN DESIGNED TO SHOW THAT ZAPU IS IN FACT WEAKER THAN ZANU. HOWEVER, THERE IS ENOUGH EVIDENCE AVAILABLE TO CAUTIOUSLY STATE THAT ZAPU APPEARS TO BE HAVING INTERNAL DISCIPLINE PROBLEMS AND THAT THESE COULD AFFECT ZAPU'S ABILITY, AT LEAST FOR THE TIME BEING, TO INTENSIFY THE WAR EFFORT. THESE DEVELOPMENTS SHOULD GIVE CONSIDERABLE COMFORT TO SMITH AND ONCE AGAIN PROVIDE HIM WITH MORE ROOM TO MANEUVER. CLINGERMAN

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